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# JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

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NOVEMBER 1940

# THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

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# The JOURNAL of EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

*A Magazine of Theory and Practice*

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## EDITORIAL

As this editorial is being written, the ominous clouds of war are rolling in upon us across the broad Pacific and the narrower Atlantic. A defense program, too long delayed, is speeding into high gear as the Congress approves a supplementary defense measure of a billion and a half dollars, bringing the total appropriated in this session to twelve billion, not including the more than four billion for a two-ocean navy. And we are told further huge appropriations will be necessary!

The reality of the danger was even more vividly brought home to us in the recent recommendations of the Secretary of War regarding air-raid precautions. He advised manufacturers constructing new industrial plants for vital defense materials to select sites where the terrain would afford protection from air attacks, to bombproof essential communication lines and storage facilities, and to equip all new buildings with means for a complete blackout without interrupting production. Plans have been submitted for construction of air-raid shelters for the civilian population. The past no longer gives direction to the present as sixteen million men register for service, of whom almost a million will swell the standing army to more than two million.

Peace for the Americas is in the balance as at no time since 1917!  
At such a time, it seems almost futile to continue the publication

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of articles not specifically related to the one pressing problem of every American: Can we avoid being sucked into the hideous maelstrom of war and maintain our national honor?

It is, however, at just such a time more than at any other that sanity and calm judgment are essential; that we need to face realistically those aspects of our internal life which tend to foster division and abet antagonisms; that we need to reappraise the means for the development of integrated personality; and that we should reevaluate the entire educational program that both youth and adults may be imbued with a deep and abiding conviction that democracy is more than a theory, that it is, rather, a vital, living reality seeking ever the common good of all in a free society of free men.

FRANCIS J. BROWN

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACTS OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AND MARCH 3, 1933

Of The Journal of Educational Sociology, published monthly from September to May, at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1940.  
State of New York  
County of New York ss.

Before me, a Notary in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared E. George Payne, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the editor of The Journal of Educational Sociology and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations:

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My commission expires March 30, 1942.

## ASSIMILATION AND THE MINORITY PROBLEM

GERHART H. SAENGER

Our troubled times have left only rare spots where a person is taken for what he is, welcomed with all his peculiarities, his religious and his national characteristics. Elsewhere, wherever we turn, we hear the cry for national, racial, or cultural unity. The demand of the hour is to conform or to die. Men and women in all countries, with gradual but significant differences between the dictatorships and the democracies, are judged no longer for their value as individuals but according to their ability to conform with the ways of the majority or the dominant group in their respective homes. Those who happen to be different in their language, the color of their skin, the form of their heads, in their behavior, or religion are taken as potential or real enemies. There is also a belief, or at least a suspicion, that such differences in people are accompanied by essential differences in character and intelligence which make it difficult, if not impossible, for such "outsiders" to conform. In fact, their very existence may be regarded as a threat to the welfare of the group with whom fate has placed them. Such beliefs, discredited again and again by serious scientists, are by no means a product of our turbulent times. They are always latent, and only intensified during periods of great unrest.

The psychologist and the social scientist have to reckon with this fact. It is useless to point to the essential equality of all men, to assume tolerance and the enjoyment rather than the fear of difference, and that personality is a product of education. In times of stress we do not act rationally. We search for emotional security. Our fears react against that which is strange, incomprehensible, and therefore dangerous. In the middle ages, the populace, scourged by famine and pestilence, burned witches. In our time, when economic troubles and war press on us, we turn against minorities. But as the burning of witches solved nothing, neither can the suppression of minorities

bring about peace and economic stability. Our problem is then how can this minority question be solved as far as human nature is concerned?

The simplest way of dealing with a minority might be to exterminate it altogether, a practice not unknown in ancient and modern times. Such a solution is based on the belief that the minority cannot be assimilated, or is an obstacle in the path of the majority, which has the conviction that the culture of its victims is inferior and not worthy of existence.

Others believe that where people of different origins live together they should attempt to form a common culture. New arrivals should strive to conform to the social pattern already established, making their own contribution to it. Another word for this process is the "melting pot." There are, particularly in the United States, many who think that the second solution of the minority problem would be the most ideal.

Still others believe, on the contrary, that every culture has a right to exist and that as many cultural forms as possible should be preserved. As variety is the spice of life, all cultures should be preserved and work in common. The author will not disagree with this ideal. But as a psychologist, he has considerable doubt as to whether it is practicable.

Consider, for example, the way in which we choose our friends, with what groups we mingle, which groups we shun. As children our friends are those boys or girls who go with us to school or church, whose parents know our parents, who live around the corner. Already at this age a selection in our acquaintances is made, as our parents will probably know people who have the same interests and perhaps come from the same place. They may admonish us not to play with certain children and in a subtle way impress on us their own choice and prejudices.

As life goes on, the influences of parents, church, school, of common interests, and growing prejudices will make for the formation of groups who share certain common factors. Within all these

groups strong ties will be formed, and people judged according to their conformity with the standards of the "we" group. We consider ourselves the "right people" and learn to conceive of our ways as the "correct and right" way to live.

✓ We love that which we know; the unfamiliar puts us into a world of latent fears and surprises. The person who is different is known to us only in so far as he is different. We are not familiar with his struggle and do not feel with him. Moreover, in the conviction of our own standards, manners, and behavior, we experience him as a deviation from something which we regard as essentially right. A person who is dressed differently may induce the remark that he looks like a Bohemian or a criminal.

In times of political and social unrest the "different" group becomes the focal point of criticism and attack. The vast complexity of modern life makes it more difficult for many of us to understand the causes of prosperity and depression. Growing specialization confines us to a small segment of life, part of a great economic structure which we do not understand. Our most pressing problem is insecurity and the suspicion that somebody must be responsible for those things which work against us. We cling to our familiar associations and soon grow to blame the stranger.

✓ For the American in the latter part of the nineteenth century, especially, an immigrant from Italy or Ireland who worked for lower wages was the danger. As no one knew the employer who exploited the ignorance of the newcomers, it did not take long to identify the man who spoiled wages with the immigrant and the immigrant with the Italian or Irishman. Those who suffered from economic competition thus learned to hate the intruder whom they identified by his looks and his language. A similar phenomenon can be observed in present-day Harlem, where race hatred against the Jews develops as they are frequently the agents who collect the rent and thus seem to exploit the people. The man who owns the house and who holds the mortgage very seldom comes into the picture.

Such condemnation is never made if we are in close contact and

on familiar terms with individuals of a certain group. We may be convinced that Mr. Smith living in our street and belonging to the same church is a crook, but only if there is sufficient evidence. We have known him all our life, we went to school with him, his children play with our children. If he failed and committed a crime, we would be sure that only exceptional circumstances drove him to it. He is an exception and not the rule.

This certainly is different in regard to members of groups unfamiliar to us. If they are failures, we are only too ready to generalize. Attacks on individual Catholics, Jews, Irish, Negroes are usually based on evidence which we "saw with our own eyes." The misbehavior of one individual is then enough to condemn the whole group. After the generalization condemning the minority has been made, it is a natural consequence and tendency, interpreted almost as an act of self-preservation, to exclude them. A superficial deviation from what we regard as normal will be exaggerated to the status of a danger or a threat. The Negro who attacked a white woman is assumed to be typical of all Negroes. The white man who attacked a Negro woman is considered only an exceptional and rare criminal.

This tendency to generalize, to make distinct groups the object of antagonistic feelings on the basis of one or two objectionable examples is an unfortunate, but deep-seated habit in the large majority of people. It is this which renders the living together of different cultural groups so difficult. Wherein lies a solution?

A basic solution, which would eliminate the constantly reoccurring conflicts and misunderstandings, must be found in a process of assimilation or gradual merging of the groups into a homogeneous society. However, numerous obstacles to assimilation are presented just by the same social and economic situation which calls for assimilation.

The success of assimilation depends upon the existence of a certain spirit of coöperation and open-mindedness in the community,



which more often than not is lacking to a considerable degree. To give some rather trivial examples of obstacles to such a spirit on the emotional plane: A school teacher who has been educated in New England standards of decorum will reprimand an Italian child for his high spirits and an Irish boy for his pugnaciousness by pointing out that, "Nice people don't act that way, you should give up your 'foreign' manners." Here, the parents are implicitly criticized and will inevitably take exception to the teacher's discipline, while the child will be torn between two opposing authorities.

Such a situation is common enough where children are concerned. If a child repeatedly reprimanded for bad habits is made to feel inferior and unwelcome by his parents until his behavior is improved, the same problem arises within the family. The child will become strongly antagonistic toward us, if at the same time little is done to correct him in a constructive and sympathetic way. He will tend to persist in his own conduct and seek the company of similarly treated children in the neighborhood. He may also become aggressive, tend to defend himself. Children so treated will not only hate their parents, but everything they stand for. The parents in their turn will finally become convinced that their child is incorrigible, in short, a problem child.

This is precisely the situation which faces mature members of a minority group who, in a sense, is the "problem child" of society. Frequently, they are not taught the customs of the dominant group in a sympathetic way, but are criticized and insulted for their inability to be like the crowd. Their inevitable discomfiture and the consequent emergence of defense reactions lead to further accusations of aggressiveness, sullenness, obstinacy, and inability to adjust.

In this way, an open attack on the minority usually creates a violent reaction and increases the internal cohesion and the consequent isolation of the minority group. The strong discrimination against Dutch Protestants in the Renaissance led to their adoption of the discriminating term *Geuse* as an honorable title and to a dis-

trust and hostility against everybody who was Catholic. The result of discrimination is thus a reassurance of the minority and leads to a definite disinclination on their part to adopt the ways of the majority. It leads to stronger group solidarity and self-appreciation, forces which work against assimilation. The French Negro who is not discriminated against is much more assimilated than the American Negro. South America, where race discrimination, whether on social or economic grounds, is much less pronounced than in the United States is much nearer the state of the "melting pot."

✓ Assimilation depends also on the lessening of economic discrimination. In a society which works under the ideal of free competition an additional obstacle lies in the way of the minority competitor. He has to work harder in order to achieve the same degree of security and must therefore know more and be more efficient. As a result, he may be called thrifty, overambitious, greedy, intellectual, ruthless, or aggressive. This accusation is aggravated where the minority member may be tempted to use dishonest means in order to meet competition. The average person will notice the facts but not the reasons. From the minority point of view the usage of such means may be a matter of survival, the necessity to feed his family, and may be interpreted as a vindication against ruthless discrimination and oppression.

The Negro, Italian, Jew, or Chinese who does not get a certain job because of his race or religion will seldom respect the people who reject him. He may identify such folk with the dominating political system, in which case his objections will take the form of revolutionary thought and activity. Hence the notion arises that members of minority groups are more subject to fascist or communistic beliefs than others.

Discrimination against individuals or groups may lead to inferiority feelings which are then overcompensated for by a feeling of importance and superiority. The office clerk who during the whole day follows orders may be an almost unbearable tyrant at home. The

man who was a failure all his life and was maltreated by everybody becomes the paranoid who believes he is Napoleon. This feeling, however, is never complete; the conviction of superiority is never genuine but more or less consciously mixed with a tinge of the old inferiority which is constantly suppressed. Napoleon was not offended if somebody questioned his competence and superiority. The pseudo-Napoleons in our mental asylums are exceedingly sensitive to any intrusion or doubt of their superiority.

This relation repeats itself frequently in the social intercourse between members of majorities and minorities. The conviction of the superiority or equality of the minority member is a defensive attitude, highly vulnerable. Within a society which attaches different prestige values to different vocations this often leads to a compulsive drive on the part of the discriminated individuals to get into the positions which have most prestige. Contrary to ordinary behavior, a vocation will then not be chosen for its own sake alone but as a means of asserting one's own superiority.

We finally have to emphasize that the lessening of business discrimination is not enough to achieve assimilation. As long as we read in American newspapers the term "restricted residential area," as long as Negroes have to live in certain quarters of the town, and clubs all over the world exclude members of certain races and religions, assimilation will be difficult. Men are gregarious and crave for company. Excluded here or there, they will stick together for mutual support in the search of a friendly atmosphere. As long as people build social barriers into their lives assimilation will be slow. Yet, in a world of barriers and competition, ruled by propaganda and emotions rather than facts and reason, assimilation seems the only if second best solution to the minority problem. And there must be a solution—as the conflict cannot continue without human wastage and economic chaos for all parties concerned. Assimilation can only proceed by proper education—of the majority as well as of the minority. We have to learn why the individual in distress

acts as he does, to look behind his seemingly strange behavior. We must view the acts of the member of a minority in terms of his own culture—often confused by adjustments and obstacles which are beyond our imagination to understand.

The United States with its amazing variety of creeds and nationalities, races and religions can continue to function as a democracy only if this problem receives constant and intelligent attention. With a shrinking economic sphere and the continued threat to security from within and without the strains will be greater. Minority groups need not and must not be the modern "witches of Salem."

## THE TEACHING OF DEMOCRACY

JAMES L. MAC KAY

*Cleveland High School, St. Louis, Missouri*

One of the larger cities of the country has recently installed a new superintendent of schools. The first public demand made upon him was to teach democracy in the schools. The demand was made in much the same spirit that a group might demand that modeling clay be introduced into the primary grades. Apparently all the superintendent had to do was to order a carload of democracy and see that it was distributed to the schools for use on the opening day.

The teaching of democracy presents five major aspects:

1. Teaching about democracy—what it is, how it operates, how it compares with other systems, particularly totalitarianism.
2. Developing the character traits and ideals necessary to the growth of a truly democratic society.
3. Modifying the administration, classroom procedure, and curriculum so as to make for a more democratic spirit in the schools.
4. Development of leadership—possibly on the part of the school, for influencing the community controls which have an educational influence. The school cannot effectively teach democracy unless the out-of-school controls are influenced in that direction.
5. Social research to keep the schools and the public informed of facts so as to combat propaganda and give the teachers and pupils a reliable source of information.

While I shall discuss these as separate items, I recognize that they are so interrelated as to be interdependent and that one cannot develop without like development on the part of the others.

### TEACHING ABOUT DEMOCRACY

Teaching about democracy should really occur after democracy has been practised for many years, after traits and ideals consistent with democracy have been developed. The danger and ineffective-

ness of trying to set up an intellectual ideal first and then developing activities consistent with it, instead of developing the activities and then establishing the ideal, is discussed more in traits and ideals.

Student councils, self-governing clubs, straw votes, etc., are legitimate tools for the teaching of the forms of democracy. Very few schools have been able to use these to their fullest possibilities because of the autocratic setup of the school system. The school is not permitted to help students make mistakes. The public would never understand that it takes a wiser administrator to help children make and correct mistakes than it does to prevent children from making mistakes. With the setup discussed in the section on modifying the school these tools would become much more effective.

The relationship of democracy as a political system and democracy as a philosophy of life must be established. At the present time too much of the schools' time is devoted to the forms of a democratic state to the exclusion of the spirit of a democratic society. Teachers cannot develop a conviction for democracy by words alone; they must make it a part of themselves and of the atmosphere of the classroom. They must understand that democracy is social control in which the good of the individual and of the group or state progress simultaneously; totalitarianism is personal control subordinating the individual to the state.

#### DEVELOPING TRAITS AND IDEALS CONSISTENT WITH DEMOCRACY

Democracy as a way of life is based upon the day-to-day activities of the people, not upon the lip service they render to stereotypes. Most "moral teaching" or "character education" has put the cart before the horse. In most cases it has been started with certain ideals which through stories, biographies, games, and other devices the teacher has attempted to get "into the minds" of the pupils. Instead, character education should start with activities which are a part of democratic living, developing these activities into habits, emotionalizing them into traits, and integrating them into ideals.



In the following article by H. S. Tuttle, "Prescription for Integrity," the psychological basis for the development of character has been analyzed in its progressive stages: activities, traits, ideals.

Sociologically, I would thus state the development of ideals: In the home and neighborhood the child is surrounded with physical and mental stimuli to which he is constantly reacting. These reactions are developing into habits and taking on emotional connotations which are changing them into traits. Through the home discussion of the neighborhood scandal, fathers' industrial problems, brothers' school problems; through discussions on the corner and on the lot, these traits are being consolidated into ideals. The child comes to school with these *ideals* and is presented with a set of ready-made *ideas* which are at variance with them. The ideals are his, the ideas belong to the school. Ideals can only be changed by changing the activities, mental or physical, and the accompanying emotions and then the ideals themselves.

For the school to do this effectively without systematically influencing the out-of-school habit-forming agencies is well-nigh impossible. The school can develop certain desirable habits and, through story and biography, extend them vicariously and then integrate them into an "intellectual ideal." The chances for their carry-over to out-of-school situations are very small.

Personal ideals can only originate in personal activities. The school can only integrate traits into ideals when it deals with the actual traits of the children. The school is the logical place in which the children should be helped to understand their own traits and to select those which should be integrated into ideals.

MODIFYING SCHOOL PROCEDURES TO MAKE A  
DEMOCRATIC SPIRIT POSSIBLE

There are three phases of school procedure that still militate, to too great a degree, against democracy: the administration, the usual classroom procedure, and the curriculum, the last two particularly

in the secondary school. If pupils are to develop responsibility for doing anything besides following instructions; if teachers are to develop responsibility for anything more than carrying out orders; if principals are to develop educational responsibility, each must have some part in saying what shall be done and how it shall be done. And so on through the superintendent and school board to the patrons of the schools, the parents of the children.

No one group or individual should be in a position to dictate. The teachers and administrators of the schools of our country are, probably, the largest organized group of intelligent, well-trained, and socially oriented minds in the world. If they cannot operate on a democratic basis what is the use of trying to teach democracy to the average public? If the schools need dictators, so does the country! Leadership? Yes, inspired leadership! Discipline? Yes, strict discipline, but socially controlled! The good of the system? Yes, but also the sanctity of the individual pupil, teacher, and administrator. In a truly democratic society the problem of education is primarily the problem of the individual.

Classroom procedure has been hinted at above for the teacher is the administrator of the classroom. The above statement that each pupil has his own problem does not mean that a teacher will have forty-five individual activities going on in the room. Much of the activity of childhood is assimilating the cultural heritage. To a very large extent these activities are in response to group needs. However, underneath these group needs there is an individual need of which the teacher ought to be aware; with Susie it may be a nutritional need, with Johnnie, a need of love and security, with Tommy, a need for a different medium of self-expression. If the school can do anything to change traits and so the ideals, it is through helping the individual compensate for the unfavorable emotional upsets acquired outside of school. Instead, the school frequently unwittingly strengthens these traits or causes new unfavorable traits to develop through ignorance of the individual problems.

In the high school the classroom problem is particularly acute. In the first place, all pupils are expected to cover more or less the same amount and type of subject matter. The printed course of study is rigid enough but actual practice makes the program even more rigid. Secondly, teachers are hired as subject-matter experts rather than as guides in adolescent development. Thirdly, no one has enough time to get acquainted with the individual children and their problems. Secondary classes are full of human tragedy but the school goes blithely on teaching the structure and functioning of the frog or the declension of the Latin verb. The problem of the classroom leads directly into the problem of the curriculum.

In the elementary school the principal can do much under the existing curriculum to meet the needs of his particular community, if he knows those needs. The same can be said for the individual teacher meeting the needs of the individual pupils in her room. Progressive leadership can make democratic education effective in at least the first six grades without any radical change.

In the secondary schools the majority of the pupils are forced into courses which mean little to them. They are convinced that they need a *diploma* to get a job; they frequently have little interest in the type of education that we offer. History and literature? Yes, but it should be of an inspirational type to develop favorable attitudes rather than of the purely informative type which develops unfavorable attitudes in both the unresponsive pupil and the over-insistent teacher. Science and mathematics? Yes, but it should be of a type which interprets the environment rather than the highly systematized type adapted to advanced students on the adult level.

There are some pupils in the secondary school who enjoy and profit by the present type of subject matter but most of the secondary population is in school because industry will not give them a place. Their emotional urges are very much the same as were those of pioneer youth of corresponding age: they wish to be independent, they wish to earn their own living, to look forward to marriage and

setting up homes of their own. Their biological and social urges do not find a satisfactory outlet in our present setup. With a guidance and research program in every school, and the privilege of experimentation, much could be done to meet these problems.

With continuous guidance, the student would have a part in determining the program; with a flexible program and the privilege of experimentation the teacher and principal would have a part in developing the program and in meeting the need of the individual child, and there would then be a basis for democratic procedure. Democracy cannot come from the top.

#### SCHOOL LEADERSHIP IN THE COMMUNITY

While the school is the institution set up by the community to ensure the formal education of the young, the community itself, through the home, the neighborhood, the press, the radio, the churches, the social agencies, the labor unions, the industries, through all of its component parts is educating the young at all times. This community education is often without guidance or coördination and frequently at variance with the traits and ideals upon which democracy must rest. With the young people surrounded by race discrimination, capital and labor conflict, and competition among religious groups, how are the schools effectively to establish faith in social control, faith in *e pluribus unum*?

Since the formal education which the school is called upon to give to the youth of the country has been extended to include "democracy," it devolves upon the school to exert a leadership in the coördination and direction of those influences which are militating against the fulfillment of the demands of the community. This leadership must be democratic. It cannot go beyond the ideals of the community, but it can raise those ideals. School people cannot sit in their ivory towers and direct from above. Leadership implies followers who imply confidence in individuals and institutions.

To convince the public, and particularly the parents of the pupils,

that the schools are more concerned with the individual development of children than they are with compliance with superimposed school tasks is the first and most obvious means of establishing confidence. To send for a mother to discuss the inattention of her son or daughter when they do not know where the next meal is coming from makes her feel that school people do not understand the first principals of human welfare. The schools cannot generate confidence while they concentrate on symptoms in the midst of an epidemic. This consideration of the individual is a fundamental of democracy and of the confidence of the public in the schools.

A second method of establishing leadership is that of gaining the confidence of the other social agencies of the city or of the particular school districts and eventually of coördinating their efforts. While much has been done through community councils, the schools are missing a tremendous opportunity to make their work more effective through closer coöperation with the Boy and Girl Scouts, the Y's, and other character-building and activity organizations. The churches will come together better through their common interest in children than through other aspects of their work. The welfare agencies are more than willing to work with the schools for the welfare of the children. This coöperation can be extended when the school program becomes more flexible and more concerned with the individual. The school can become a major agency in the coördination of the community activities, first for the children and then for the adults.

Industry, both capital and labor, is a dominating influence in present-day communities. The schools have had to take over the training and guidance program formerly performed by industry. There is more or less mutual and thoroughly futile incrimination between the schools and industry. Both institutions want the same thing: successful and rapid adjustment of new workers to their jobs. Outside of the trade schools there has been practically no attempt at a mutual understanding. Out of nine white secondary

schools, in a given city, one is a vocational school and yet more than ninety per cent of their pupils go directly from the secondary school into industry. I do not imply that they should have nine vocational schools but I do imply that guidance and training for initial adjustment to industry should be a major objective of the regular secondary school. Industry has difficult problems which the schools could alleviate to some extent if they understood them better and had a more flexible program. On the other hand, the schools face difficult problems in preparing pupils for entrance into industry and these could be somewhat alleviated if industry understood them and coöperated. The need for closer coöperation has been forcefully demonstrated by the "bottlenecks" of the expanding national defense production. Fortunately, both industry and the schools have responded wholeheartedly in the development of a coöperative program.

The schools cannot teach the ideals of democracy or any other set of ideals which are contrary to the mores of the community. Every American community pays lip service to the ideals of democracy but the life of the community may at times belie them. The teaching of democracy must extend to all phases of American life if it is to be effective, and in accomplishing this end the schools must exert a greater leadership in the community.

#### SOCIAL RESEARCH

Pure democracy functions in those situations which are so simple that all members know the facts of the community and are able properly to interpret them. As communities grow more complex, facts are more difficult to establish and their intricate relationships become more difficult to interpret. Since the schools are to teach democracy, they have a twofold responsibility in regard to facts: first, the school must have unbiased facts to present to its students in order that they may make judgments adequate for democratic living; second, both teachers and pupils must develop a technique



for determining such facts and for properly evaluating and interpreting them in terms of individual and community welfare.

This entails research. Research simply means the gathering of sufficient accurate data that an adequate conclusion can be drawn. Research is an attitude and a technique which can be applied from the kindergarten throughout school life and on into professional, industrial, and political life. It is another term for the scientific process.

In the kindergarten and elementary school research can dominate the type of thinking called for in all activities, although there is danger that the development of the process may become an end in itself instead of a means of solving actual problems. Reflective thinking demands adequate data and the complexity of the data will vary with the problem the child is facing. A young child will take most of its data on faith and, unless the source of the data is within the comprehension of the child, that faith should not be disturbed. The solution of problems should be on a reflective basis.

In the secondary school, and particularly in the upper years, more complex facts dealing with controversial issues will be used. Controversial issues may involve contrary opinions but there are no such things as "contrary facts." Facts may be differently interpreted but facts cannot be controverted. The juggling of facts to bring about preconceived or prejudiced opinions will not lead to confidence or scientific thinking. If the schools are to develop democracy, they must develop the ideal of unprejudiced thinking about social problems. The great bulwark of democracy is facts.

To what extent can secondary-school pupils do original research in social problems? Just as with the kindergarten pupils the problem must be within their powers of comprehension and solution at each level of development. There are many problems within the high school itself which the pupils could solve through research. Most educational research is within the comprehension of high-school pupils under expert guidance, but the schools should not conduct

research unless they are willing to accept the findings. If democracy is to function, all must be prepared to adjust themselves to demonstrated facts. Students are constantly challenging the value of certain school procedures. Are the school people willing to subject these procedures to research? The students would be most readily convinced of their error if the research showed values of which they were not cognizant. Can as much be said for the school adults if the research showed contrary results? Together pupils, teachers, and administrators can develop intellectual honesty and democracy.

Some very objective problems outside of the school may be subjected to research on the secondary-school level. The relationship of playgrounds to delinquency, the relationship of health and mortality to housing conditions, in fact most social relationships which can be adequately determined from secondary sources can be studied by secondary-school students. The technique of gathering original data has to be learned and is probably beyond the ability of most secondary students, but the habit of referring to published reports and properly interpreting them is a type of research which every citizen ought to develop in a democracy.

In highly controversial issues or issues involving the activities or integrity of public persons, the data presented to pupils must be absolutely factual and unbiased. Research is not trying to condemn or commend, it is trying to find the truth so as to provide a basis for action. The consideration of this type of data is within the province of the secondary group and unless they learn to consider it in high school how will they adequately consider it as citizens of an adult democracy?

The gathering of social data from original sources is the work of adults who have been trained for that work. The schools need that data for the proper teaching of democracy. Participation in the gathering of that data will do much to enable the teachers properly to evaluate and interpret it and will raise them in the estimation of their students and the public in general. Too long have school

people spoken as ones having authority when all their authority was secondhand and related to things long past! If the schools are to have the confidence of the public and to have their influence effective with both children and adults, they must become authorities in their own right.

The types of problems which are calling for solution or description are innumerable: case histories of individual pupils; recreational facilities of a school district; reading habits of the families; housing conditions; health and mortality; health facilities; welfare agencies' activities within a district; methods of coordination between school and scouts; educational desires of adolescents; vocational opportunities for beginners; prevocational training for beginners; and cooperative plan for industrial training.

The problems suggested above are all closely related to the school and would result in adjustment of the school to the conditions found. Many of them would extend beyond the school and suggest activities on the part of other agencies. Few of them would bring the schools into conflict with any other group or institution. There is plenty of social good to be done in which the school could assume leadership by doing the research necessary properly to define the problem. After being established as an unbiased research agency, the breadth of problems to be studied would know no limits. Many problems would originate in the discussions of the social-studies classes of the secondary schools and would become proper subjects of study by the adults supplying reliable data to their classes, such as: the place of the adolescent in the judicial system; the local courts and the police department; labor disputes; the operation of the primary election in the local situation; biographies and stands of local candidates; and local civil service.

These problems are the types of problems which the average citizen finds of interest but about which there is no reliable data. We are so deluged with propaganda that we do not trust any published information. For the teachers to establish themselves as an

unbiased research agency might at first cause some criticism until they had demonstrated that they were concerned only with thoroughly established facts, and, as far as humanly possible, were above personal prejudice and outside influence. The teaching corps of a city is so large and represents so many different points of view, and is so well educated that they could keep themselves clear of such criticism if they were properly organized for the work.

To teach democracy there must be a source of unbiased facts on current, local situations. Democracy is not something that happened in 1789. It is not something to be taught from textbooks. It is happening here and now. Democracy is a dynamic, progressive activity and to teach it we must be in the midst of it.

#### SUMMARY

To teach democracy the thinking of the school, pupils, teachers, and administrators must be on a reflective basis. The program must be sufficiently flexible to permit experimentation as a part of the reflective process. There must be sources of data at all levels to make reflective thinking on ever broadening planes adequate. In order to avoid conflicts in the personalities of the pupils, the entire community must be helped to think along reflective lines, using adequate data. This will mean a new and higher type of social leadership than our country has ever before seen.

The job cannot be done in a day nor in a year nor in a century. It cannot be accomplished by edict nor developed in "ivory towers" to be suddenly released upon an admiring and expectant public. As social conditions change and develop, so democracy will have to change and develop. This leadership cannot become static, it can never rest, it must go "on and on and on." It can begin now in every classroom where teacher and administrator understand the problem. It can begin in every secondary school where they do more than lip service to guidance. It can develop gradually but steadily and democratically.

## PRESCRIPTION FOR INTEGRITY

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In a day when the worth of personality needs increasing emphasis, confusing attacks and insinuations from the laboratories are challenging the very fact of character. Integrity appears as a strange face to a scientific generation.

That the barrage is without malice or conspiracy appears from the lack of coördinated attack. Each negative implication springs independently out of the soil of objective science. The total effect, however, is serious for the preservation of human values.

The result is as unnecessary as it is disastrous. For neither in particular nor *in toto* does sound scientific method challenge the fact of personality. Not one of the damaging assumptions, when closely examined, proves logically to deny any of the highest values found in consistent character. Indeed, the process of integration itself finds support and explanation in the very science that first attacked it.

There was the attack of behaviorism: science must be objective. Only overt acts can be studied objectively. Out of such objective study came the amazing logic: we started by examining only objective data; from that data we find no evidence that personality is a reality; we conclude that it is a senseless self-deception! The fallacy was quickly detected, but damage had been done. Science had "proved" the nothingness of personality.

More incidental was the discovery that motives are specific. Speak not of truthfulness; speak only of truthful statements. Expect not honesty; be content with honest choices. To be sure, the chief studies which proved that choices are specific were made with children; and the authors asserted that the evidence in no way indicated that higher integration of conduct was impossible.<sup>1</sup> Still the impression

<sup>1</sup> Hugh Hartshorne, Mark A. May, Frank K. Shuttlesworth, *Studies in the Organization of Character* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1928-1930), p. 359.

was afoot and has traveled far. Any talk of integrated personality must be but the wishful thinking of some idealist who has outlived his day!

"No transfer of training" is a slogan which also tends to throw out of court any effort to justify integration of personality. The slogan emerged from careful studies of specific habits and of the organization of specific data, in no way involving integration of values. That every habit and idea must be gained at its own price in mental effort was the original, precise denial of transfer. But at first glance integration looks like transfer, and, without a second glance, is by many discarded.

The first encouragement comes from that practical army of psychologists and educators whose primary concern is mental health and happiness. The tragedy to be avoided, they insist, is disintegration of personality. The child is certainly not at birth an integrated person, and before disintegration can occur there must be integration.

In practice these zealous workers for the happiness of children actually provide the conditions for integration. They seldom refer to the label, but they plan well for the process. So their program constitutes an excellent laboratory for study, and patient observation of healthy growing children offers further light. By comparison of well-established particulars the picture becomes clearer. Altogether there is cumulative evidence that integration of personality is a process as real as any chemical change observable in the laboratory.

Imagine a child who has never heard the word "flower" visiting a garden. First she is shown a bed of violets and is told the name—violets. She picks a blossom, smells it, touches it to her face, looks at it. The deep color, fragrance, the daintiness of shape, the softness of the petals—all these stimulations give pleasure to the child. The violet is not only perceived but it is enjoyed. The child moves on. Graceful tulips nod at her and she is told this name, also. Again she is pleased; she enjoys the fragrance, the color, the gracefulness of



the bells and of their swaying motion. The tulips are not only perceived; they are enjoyed. As she goes through the garden one after another of the blooms is similarly named, perceived, and enjoyed.

As yet she knows them only by their particular names. Finally the gardener, noting her beaming face, says, "So you like my flowers?" Perplexed, she replies, "I haven't seen any *flowers*. We must have missed them!" Whereupon the gardener explains to her that these are all *flowers*, that each one is a flower; the word flower is the name of a class; it symbolizes all the individual blossoms which she had first learned by their separate names. She understands. She has gained the concept *flower*; she has learned its definition.

Promptly and eagerly she exclaims, "Oh, yes, indeed; I love your flowers!" Whence came her liking of flowers? Quite distinct from the learning of the concept, the affective state has become associated with that word "flower." It means more to her than the deep color of the violet, more than the graceful sway of the tulip, more than the subtle fragrance of the mignonette. It means fragrance, not particularized but generalized; it means color and form and grace likewise generalized; it means all that the separate names can mean, not as a sum of particulars but as a comprehensive appreciation of all their aspects of beauty. The enjoyments of the separate flowers have been *integrated* into the enjoyment of the concept *flower*.

In integration the feelings of satisfaction which were at first attached to particular objects become attached to a concept. The process is somewhat analogous to the radiation of heat through connected copper wires, or the convergence of water from many tributaries into the main river.

There is no mysticism in this process. That is, there is nothing learned through channels differing from the normal learning process. Of course there is still mystery, for he would be a bold scientist indeed who claimed that he had removed all mystery from the process by which the violet gives pleasure to the child. But the nature of the process by which pleasure is attached to the violet is not different

from that by which the pleasure of violets and tulips and mignonettes becomes attached to the concept *flower*.

Integration is a process by which the feeling tone at first attached to specific experiences enters into concepts which are organized from those experiences. *It is an affective process rather than intellectual.* All that is necessary for integration is that there shall be similar types of satisfaction in each of the elements which have been organized into the concept. If flowers are sometimes beautiful and fragrant and sometimes thorny or bee infested, it will take on both its positive and negative values, essential for a total generalized concept.

The illustration was chosen from the aesthetic field for the sake of simplicity. The most significant applications of integration, however, are to be found in the field of social values. The inner nature of integration is not different in the two.

When a child has been thoroughly trained in the habit of putting her toys in places provided for them, of hanging her clothes in designated places, of dusting her furniture each morning, and in other specific habits affecting the appearance of her room, it is then possible to make clear to her the meaning of the word "neat." Neglect of any particular habit thereafter comes to be recognized as interfering with the "neatness" of the room. The child was not trained in *neatness*; she was trained in specific habits until each one of them was satisfying and its neglect annoying. But when she comes to think in terms of the neatness of the room the motivation for each act which contributes to neatness is stronger than before, for now leaving her clothing lying around the room is annoying not only in terms of the habit of hanging up clothes but in terms of the neatness of the room also. Thus specific acts yield their slight but cumulative satisfactions to the larger behavior pattern of which they have come to be parts, with the result that the total pattern is more satisfying than any of its parts.

Truthfulness is the product of integration. It is not effectively taught as a generalized trait, but rather the separate truthful state-

ments are made satisfying. This process is continued until the child develops the concept of *truthfulness* and into that concept flows the feeling tone of each contributing experience. If this cumulative experience has been adequately guided, the child has a strong desire to tell the truth.

Similarly each trait of character is created by the favorable conditioning of specific related acts through which is developed a general concept which includes them. When all specific acts of one type are consistently enjoyable the radiation of affective tone from particulars to concept takes place automatically.

The process of integration is far more involved and complicated than the above account indicates. The picture is greatly oversimplified even by the suggestion of a three-level hierarchy consisting of specific acts, traits, and ideals. While these three typical stages in the unifying of personality deserve a word of description, the complexity of integration must be kept clearly in mind.

Just as the trait is established by approving specific acts, so ideals are built up from traits. The similar social effects of honesty and truthfulness and sportsmanship are made clear and related to the word "honor," thus forming the more inclusive concept of honor. Into this concept radiate all the favorable conditionings of the constituent traits. The cumulative and unified product is the ideal of honor. Every trait falling under the total concept now possesses a worth not previously felt. Every act recognized as belonging to this ideal is now motivated by the strengthened urge. Conduct thus tends to be consistent within each major ideal.

The picture thus far has been one of cumulative steps. However, integration is not wholly a process of increasing the range of value patterns. In one very important aspect the range is diminished. *Inhibition* takes place whenever two patterns conflict in some essential and permanent phase. Somewhat as a totem pole is carved from a tree after the tree has grown to an appropriate size, so a concept expands to include many elements, then it is trimmed away by re-

finements of meaning. As the concept becomes more clearly defined the values integrated by it are reduced correspondingly to its restricted boundaries, attaching to those particulars alone which remain identified with the revised concept.

It is also possible to integrate values within a concept by experiencing both favorable and unpleasant aspects of the total. As suggested earlier in this analysis, after one has discovered at firsthand the meaning of thorns the values are divided. Roses are still prized; but the lover of flowers is on the alert to avoid the thorns. Both positive and negative aspects of the concept have developed; and the value system which is wholly favorable becomes narrowed to something less than the total concept "flowers"; it now excludes the thorns. Acquaintance with a *person* offers perhaps the best illustration of integration by inhibition. Assuming a favorable attitude at the start, the friendship grows as acquaintance improves and continues as a unified but expanding attitude as new phases of character are discovered. If unpleasant traits are discovered friendship continues, but full approval is withheld from the objectionable traits.

Inhibition, then, cuts off those patterns which prove annoying and those that interfere with the realization of approved judgments. It is as though the annoying features became negatively magnetized and receded from the approved phase of the concept. The process is automatic. So far as the inner workings of the mind are concerned nothing need be done to bring it about. Although difficult of complete realization, the principle can be stated simply: one who is seeking to foster the process has only to decide what phases of a concept need to be excluded from the approved features and render them annoying.

If a situation arises in which it is desirable that one should feel blindly loyal to a total concept, then every care should be taken not to permit any aspect of it to become annoying. If, on the other hand, situations arise in which it is desirable that fine discrimination should be felt within a concept, then specific provisions should be

made for causing some aspects to be annoying to the individual, and others pleasing.

In the larger integration of human character every tendency which is out of harmony with the central principle around which character is being integrated needs to be deliberately made annoying by one means or another. The actual inconsistencies need to be resolved into open conflicts, thus sharpening the realization of its in-harmonies. Only thus can character become highly unified and self-consistent.

If it is important to understand the function of inhibition in refining and unifying value systems, it is likewise necessary to note the significant function of variety in enriching meanings. To one who enjoys photography and poetry and piano playing and tennis each interest gives added thrill because of the contrast afforded by others. Somewhat as the timber of a musical note depends upon supplementary systems of vibrations, so the quality of human experience depends upon the variety of supplementary experiences which contribute to its total meaning. The unity of a value system is enriched by its constituent variety.

In such a discussion as this there is danger of oversimplification. The integrated personality should not be thought of on the analogy of the human skeleton without flesh and color; the pyramid of cannon balls in the village square is no better analogy. A truer metaphor is found in the apple tree in full leaf and bloom. The tree has a single trunk to which all the branches are related and, through them, every blossom and leaf; but the total impression of the tree is a great mass of green and pink forming a unified picture to the eye. Similarly, unified personality has color and beauty. While a single system of values may give it unity and a few varied but harmonizing traits give further body to that unified value system, the total personality is enriched by thousands upon thousands of specific experiences, many of which do not come into consciousness as distinct memories but all contribute to the form and color of the total.

If integration has been consistently social and particular experiences have been adequate in number and adequately satisfying, then the total system will be highly altruistic and highly satisfying. Such an outcome will be in the nature of a hierarchy at the pinnacle of which altruism dominates, and within which contributing traits and habits constitute motives, freely expressed so long as they do not conflict with social welfare, but inhibited in whatever directions they do conflict.

A personality so integrated will be single minded, but not single-track minded. He will have the widest range of interests that his experience and training could cultivate in him. Only those that were in conflict with the unifying value in his personality will have been inhibited. He may have a thousand lively interests. Life may be for him exceedingly rich and varied. At every turn he may find a new thrill since every contact with environment may satisfy some cultivated interest. The integration of his personality will have robbed him of far less than it added, for his unifying value will be a regulator but no substitute for the many interests that open roads to happiness.

However simple the process of motivating little children to specific performance, the principles of motivation find their crowning value when applied to the integration of interests into value systems and integration of value systems into unified character. When the laws of motivation are adequately understood and applied to this high social goal through wholesome direction by the agencies of social control, the dream of a more integrated human society will have been brought closer within the range of practical realization.



## A NOTE ON THE TEACHING OF SOCIAL CHANGE

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An analysis of catalogues for institutions of higher learning throughout the United States indicates that there are approximately eighty courses announced within the general field of social change. The titles include such names as social progress, social trends, social dynamics, social change, social evolution, social prediction, etc. In two cases, more than one such course is offered within the same university. The teachers of fifty-five of these courses were kind enough to write descriptions of them, and their letters have been used in this analysis. The replies, with five exceptions, were full, discursive letters which gave indication of the intellectual objectives of the courses, the methods employed, and the material covered. The majority of them included bibliographies or syllabuses. Their excellence prompted, as an afterthought, the writing of this article, as the original request for information was intended merely for personal teaching purposes.

One of the most striking aspects of these courses is the variety of their objectives; that is, in the last analysis, of their basic conceptions of social change and of the methods by which it is studied. These conceptions are in some cases not stated in the letters, but are implicit in the differing emphases on course content, or in the differing methods of approach. The views of social change, although they represent almost as many gradations as the number of courses itself, may be roughly classified in three groups. There is an almost equal number of courses in each of the three. The first group includes courses which regard change as some form of progress; the second, those which predicate some other theory of the direction or the process of change, or which examine various theories of this sort; while the third group is made up of those courses which lay first emphasis not upon any theories of change but on the ways in which

specific social changes have actually occurred, and on the consequences of these changes. Courses in this third group use the "problem" approach, although they have by necessity at least an incidental interest either in some theory of change or in the absence of such a theory.<sup>1</sup>

There are fourteen courses in the group of those which are clearly oriented in some way to the idea of progress. Three of these regard progress in an organic evolutionary sense, as, in one instance, specifically supporting a "belief in purpose behind the world order." Six others treat the idea of progress historically and, in general, critically. One letter says, for example,

We trace the idea of progress through history. . . . That is, we note the neglect of this idea among primitive races, the Oriental idea of the cycle, the Greek notion of regression, the Medieval rejection of all earthly good, and the renewal of the idea at the Renaissance. Rather more attention is paid to the laissez-faire theories of Ricardo, Malthus, Spencer, and W. G. Sumner and, of course, we emphasize the influence of the Darwinian theory and the theory of mechanical and inevitable progress which followed.

Another letter describes a course in

. . . Social Progress in which we study the basis of a theory of Progress, the criteria by which it is to be measured and a review of important theories and theorists.

A third critical course is termed "a degeneration of the original course in social evolution," and this "degeneration" appears to be typical of a widespread skepticism of progress as a doctrine even among those who teach it as a theory.

Two other courses in this progress group make use of the contributions of contemporary cultural anthropologists, yet manage to

<sup>1</sup> Not belonging directly to any one of the three groups were two courses which aim primarily to encourage independent research by students, and three others which focus their interest upon prediction. These last three differ only in emphasis from many others which also deal with the projection of past trends into the future.

maintain their emphasis on the idea of progress. One of these is described as follows:

... in general I may say that we tried to present the theories of progress, some criteria of progress, certain theories concerning why changes come in human society, and the stimulating conditions giving rise to inventions. The whole field of culture anthropology served as a useful reservoir in cultural dynamics through its discussion of culture diffusion and independent origins.

There is a similar tendency away from the automatic evolution-progress view among the five remaining courses in this group, which look upon progress not only as the key concept in sociology, but as one susceptible of scientific analysis. Three of these five are mainly concerned with techniques for measuring the degree of progress, and the other two with techniques for increasing the rate at which progress is being accomplished. The following statements are typical:

... we endeavor to arrive at a scientific statement, or as nearly scientific statement as possible, regarding what social progress is, then review the various institutions ... in the light of this statement.

... social progress is central in sociology. ... Promotion of human welfare is the goal of progress set by sociology. ...

Distinct from these courses in progress, the second group, consisting of fifteen courses, emphasizes some other theory or theories of change. Three of these specifically base their treatment upon cultural lag or upon some variation of that general hypothesis. Thus, one man writes,

I select the Veblen-Ogburn thesis of technological determinants as the unifying viewpoint and framework of the course. ...

And, another says,

... [the course considers] the impact of technology on our culture. ...

Three other courses focus attention upon some other single factor, such as race, migration, or a psychoanalytical factor. The subject of

another group of three is a comparative analysis of a number of elements in social change. Typical of these is the course which devotes its attention to

... theories of social change, the biological, racial, geographical, cultural theories, ... and discusses static and dynamic cultures. ...

The remaining six courses in this group use a still wider theoretical approach to the subject. Two statements indicate the nature of this approach:

... an analysis of the causes of social change and then develops the problem of social change from the philosophical, historical, and sociological points of view. ...

... [an analysis] of the various theories of causation ... plus a particular theoretical framework. ...

These last six courses vary in emphasis from critical eclecticism in the field of theory to social and cultural syntheses.<sup>2</sup>

Finally, there is a group of sixteen courses which may be described as tending toward a practical rather than a theoretical analysis. Their primary concern is with the data themselves rather than with the generalizations which may be drawn from the data. Although errors of judgment may have been committed in pigeonholing some of the individual courses, there can be no error about the existence of this practical pigeonhole as distinct from the theoretical one. And the important implication here is that there is a large group of courses being taught upon either one of two assumptions: first, that there is or can be no tenable theory of social change; or, second, that no theory has yet been developed to the point where it demands more emphasis than the particular facts of change themselves.

These sixteen courses may be divided among three subgroups: those that describe specific changes, those that discuss the resultant

<sup>2</sup> These emphases are respectively illustrated by two recently published works: Newell L. Sim, *The Problem of Social Change* (New York: The Crowell Publishing Company, 1939) and P. A. Sorokin's three-volume work, *Social and Cultural Dynamics* (New York: American Book Company, 1937).

problems, and those that emphasize techniques for controlling change, thereby eliminating the problems.

A search for common elements among all these three groups of courses reveals an apparent tendency away from the nineteenth-century application of the theory of evolution to society, and a less clear, often hesitant, tendency toward a theory of cultural lag.<sup>3</sup> Thus, one teacher writes, "... I have revamped my course quite a bit and have dropped the term 'progress' from the title"; while another finds himself adopting the cultural lag thesis "stressing the point that for our day and time this theory is at least as defensible as any other."

The main issue which arises in regard to the future of the concept of social change, at least from the point of view of teaching, is: Will it be possible to continue to deal with social change in terms of some basic factor, in line with Mr. Ogburn's influence? Or will it become necessary to consider the subject in much broader terms which are applicable to whole cultures, like those recently defined by Mr. Sorokin? Or, as a third alternative, must social change be relegated to the status of a special kind of social-problems history? Whatever the answer to these questions may be, one can hardly disagree with the final sentence of one letter: "I am perfectly clear in my own mind as to the need of developing a science of describing the process of social change. Yet I am equally clear that we have hardly yet begun even to develop a vocabulary in this field." Nor can one fail to recognize, on the basis of these data of course content, that the subject itself, even if in the embryonic stage, is nevertheless developing. One might possibly feel inclined to predict that these academic stirrings may yet produce bonafide labor pains which will yield a new and vigorous and even eugenic member of *familia sociologica*—(a family with other offspring which are not perfect specimens, and one which has frequently been accused of miscegenation in a variety of forms)!

<sup>3</sup>In addition to the three courses in which interest centered specifically about cultural lag, there were ten out of the sixteen "problem" courses which tended to emphasize this as an hypothesis. This was further indicated by the widespread use of *Recent Social Trends* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1934) as a text in the problem courses.

## ADULT EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES

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The adult population of the United States is composed of approximately 75,000,000 persons whose education has been on the whole relatively slight. Over 3,000,000 are illiterate and over 36,000,000 did not finish elementary school.

Few if any of those who completed elementary and secondary schools, or even procured their bachelor's degree, would say, "I have finished my education." Events move too rapidly in this modern world to make this possible. Much of the education which adults received long ago in school is likely to be obsolete now. For in this changing world, "facts" learned in school twenty-five years ago may not even be true today. Furthermore, there are many problems with which youth cannot deal because neither the problems themselves nor the wisdom for dealing with them are present during adolescence.

Even now all the children are not being educated in such fundamentals as reading and writing. In 1930 nearly a million between the ages of seven and thirteen were not going to school at all, most of them from the poverty zones. In the rural areas of the States mental starvation can be found, as there are many localities in which schools are open only for a few months each year. All of this means that there is a compelling need for adult education. It is because of a recognition of these educational deficiencies that the recent *Report of the Advisory Committee on Education* to the President of the United States urged that \$15,000,000 be appropriated annually by the Federal Government for adult education but as yet this has not been authorized by the Congress.

Just what is the present status of adult education? Prior to 1924 little was done in the field beyond some 3,000 lecture lyceums which usually functioned only a few weeks or months each year. Early in the twenties the Carnegie Corporation began to interest itself in this



problem and after conducting a survey called a conference in 1925. The result was that in 1926 the American Association for Adult Education was formed with the aid of money from the Carnegie Foundation. This organization has acted as a clearing house of information on the subject, has aided some adult-education work now in progress, and has published a series of books describing what is being done as well as possibilities in the field. It estimates that today thirty million people are taking part in some form of adult education such as classes, forums, playing in amateur orchestras, singing, listening to educational radio broadcasts, etc. Adult education is being carried on through the following agencies: libraries, museums, clubs, prisons, trade unions, public schools, churches, settlements, theaters, colleges and universities, health organizations, parent-education agencies, and radio stations.

The quality of the work is varied and most of it, outside of that conducted by the trade unions, avoids anything which would antagonize the dominant interests of each community. Let us consider some of the specific forms of this education.

#### THOSE CONDUCTED BY GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

*The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC).* In 1933 Congress established civilian camps for single male citizens between the ages of 17 and 24 years who were unemployed and whose families were on relief. The United States is divided into nine corps areas each with an educational director who supervises the work of the educational leaders in every camp. In all, some 700,000 enrolled in the camps have been or are participating in an educational program. Of these about 25 per cent are enrolled in reading, writing, arithmetic, or other general courses, while 64 per cent are taking training for specific occupations. About 11 per cent take courses in recreational activity. Since there is a turnover of 300,000 every six months in these camps it means that those who enroll usually get a rather short period of training.

*The Works Progress Administration*<sup>1</sup> (WPA). Since 1935 the Federal Government has been using from twenty to twenty-five million dollars a year for educational programs under the WPA. It employs about 40,000 teachers and has about 2,000,000 in its classes. The subjects taught include: literacy and naturalization, public affairs, home and family living, general cultural education, nursing, hygiene and general education, training for trade, industrial and commercial occupations, agriculture, vocational guidance and adjustment, education in leisure-time activities including arts, literature, language, public speaking, dramatics, and music. About 250,000 are being taught to read and write. Besides regular classes and lectures there are forums, educational tours, laboratory and shop exercises.

The WPA also uses some 30,000 library workers directed by a staff of 88 fully trained and 50 partly trained librarians. The work resulted in 2,300 new libraries, 3,400 reading rooms, and 5,800 traveling libraries. Some of the latter are housed in automobiles which go from place to place lending out books. In 1938 approximately 1,250,000 persons were enrolled in classes under the WPA with the coöperation of the public schools. The WPA also has an agricultural extension program with a staff of 8,500.

In the field of music it employed over 13,000 musicians who played before an aggregate audience of 100,000,000 last year. Over 3,500 needy writers have been employed to write local and State guide books. The Federal Theatre Project, during the time that it was in operation, employed over 9,000 who during 1938 played to an aggregate of 27,000,000 people. About 4,000 artists were employed in 1939 who produced 300,000 photographs, drawings, and art pieces. The various art exhibits which were held were visited by over 22,000,000 people.

*The National Youth Administration* (NYA). This agency furnishes educational opportunity, work experience, and a placement

<sup>1</sup> Name now changed to Work Projects Administration.

service to the youth of the nation. In the work program training on public projects is provided to out-of-school unemployed youth between the ages of 18 and 24. In the student-aid division financial assistance is given to needy students between the ages of 16 and 24. In the field of placement, boys and girls are aided in securing jobs in private industry. Since its establishment in 1935 the NYA has assisted 950,000 students to continue their studies. In addition to this, 750,000 out-of-school unemployed young people have received work experience and training, and 173,251 have been placed on jobs in private industry. The cost of this program for the present year is \$100,000,000.

*The Federal Office of Education.* The Federal Office of Education has promoted forums to the extent of a million dollars a year. The forums are occasionally run by schools alone but usually by civic and social organizations alone or in combination with the schools. Sometimes libraries and churches also conduct them. The forums deal with such topics as: European conditions, international relations, social and civic problems, race relations, literature and art, drama, sociology, economics, labor unions, social security, municipal government, prevention of depression and unemployment, parental problems and birth control, travel, and peace and war. Some idea of the size of the work may be gathered from the fact that in 17 different forum centers being sponsored by the Office of Education in a single month the following activities were listed: 1,274 neighborhood meetings with an attendance of 101,072, 35 luncheon meetings with an attendance of 2,028, 51 small discussion meetings with an attendance of 1,561, 5 city-countywide meetings with an attendance of 53,854. At these meetings in the aggregate only 199 library books were lent but 15,854 pamphlets were distributed.

Throughout the United States during the first year of forum demonstrations as sponsored by the Office of Education over 10,000 forums were conducted with an aggregate attendance of over a million. J. W. Studebaker, United States Commissioner of Education,

says, "If we are to have that trained civic intelligence, that critical open-mindedness upon which the practical operation of a democracy must rest, we must soon take steps to establish throughout the nation an impartial, comprehensive, systematic, coördinated, and completely managed system of public forums, publicly supported and publicly administered."

*The Public Schools.* As we have already mentioned, the public schools coöperate in some localities in adult education but rarely inaugurate independent work by themselves. The public schools vary a great deal in their standards and effectiveness. In the South, Negro schools are likely to be poor and so many Negroes are living at or even below the subsistence level that it is difficult to interest them in adult education.

Each of the above programs has been given an unprecedented impetus through the rapidly developing program for national defense. In June, the Congress appropriated 15,000,000 dollars to be administered through the Office of Education, for the development of trade and vocational courses to eliminate the "bottle-necks" in production. In September, 60,500,000 dollars more were appropriated for the continuance and further expansion of this program to include also courses on the college level. In August of this year, 80,000 persons were taking such courses and it is estimated that by November 1, approximately 107,000 will be enrolled. Nearly all of these students had previously completed their formal schooling and the great majority are adults.

#### PARENT EDUCATION

Programs of education in family living have been established in most of our larger cities. The WPA (discussed above) enrolled 66,000 in parent education and 135,000 in homemaking where they studied cooking, nutrition, health, clothing and household management. The Government has organized thousands of farm women in study circles. The Health Service has helped to organize mother's

clinics. The Consumer Division of the Department of Labor has also started Consumer Councils to aid the public to purchase intelligently. There are some fifteen national organizations working in the field of parent education of which the National Congress of Parents and Teachers is the largest with a membership of 2,000,000.

#### WORKERS' EDUCATION

Aside from the Rand School in New York City and the efforts of the Women's Trade Union League there was little workers' education prior to 1921. In that year a resident school was started at Brookwood, New York, to train men and women for active leadership in the labor movement. The same year a summer school for women workers was started at Bryn Mawr. In 1921 also the Workers' Education Bureau was organized to promote workers' education through the trade unions.

Since that time and especially during the thirties the movement has grown rapidly along several different lines:

1. Study classes—where union members meet regularly under the direction of an instructor. It is estimated that in 1939 2,500 teachers were giving instruction to more than 160,000 in such classes.

2. Labor colleges—There are now some eight resident labor colleges which try to train workers and those going into the trade-union movement. The subjects taught usually include among others: economics, history of labor, journalism, and public speaking.

3. Mass education—lectures, forums, pictures for trade-union meetings and groups of workers. The exact number who sees or hears these each year is unknown but it undoubtedly runs up into the hundreds of thousands.

4. Labor institutes—These institutes are usually conducted by labor or by a university and last from three to five days. At each session several speakers present problems of current interest to labor. The talks are usually followed by discussion.

Especially important in the field of workers' education are the

activities carried on by the various unions for the benefit of their own membership. Let us cite a few concrete examples. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers has a "Department of Cultural Activities" which employs five educational organizers. Each year it holds a number of regional conferences which include lectures, motion pictures, radio broadcasts, dramatics, music, parental education, children's groups, study and athletic groups. In 1939 they had correspondence courses in five subjects with an enrollment of 900.

The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union has had an education department since 1917 with an expert staff to direct it. In 1939 it had over 25,000 students enrolled in 620 classes in some 58 different cities. Besides a full-time national educational staff it has educational directors in 25 local unions. This department tries to reach all the union's 262,000 members by such activities as: popular lectures, radio programs, excursions, motion pictures, radio, drama, and music. The drama department succeeded in staging a musical revue called *Pins and Needles* which met with tremendous success and toured throughout America. Each year the union publishes educational material. In the past four years it has sold and distributed over 200,000 copies.

The American Federation of Hosiery Workers has an education department which conducts classes in some twenty of its locals.

It would be possible to list a great number of other unions and tell of their educational work but the ones mentioned are representative of what is being done. All together the Congress of Industrial Organization (CIO) has 100,000 enrolled in classes, and the American Federation of Labor has even more.

The Workers' Education Bureau, mentioned earlier in this article, is the official educational agency for the American Federation of Labor. It publishes books and pamphlets, provides lectures for trade unions, and conducts a workers' education news service. During the past year it has been active in promoting institutes in co-operation with a number of the State federations of labor. It has also



arranged for radio broadcasts and correspondence courses in public speaking.

There are a number of localities where local labor colleges have been established. These provide courses open to all trade unionists in the vicinity.

From what has been said it can be seen that the picture of adult education in the United States is uneven. In some sections of the country public agencies are active, in others there is a complete absence of adult education. Some trade unions are doing a great deal, others are doing nothing. On the whole it has taken a major depression and the scourge of unemployment to awaken the American people to the need of adult education.

America still lacks a carefully planned program of adult education although the American Association for Adult Education is taking preliminary steps looking toward this end. It remains to be seen whether in a period of war "prosperity" even the results so far attained in the field can be maintained.

## CONCERNING THE EDUCATION OF YOUTH

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Children now occupy a status in the social order which differs widely from any position occupied by them in the past. In a family-centered agricultural economy such as prevailed during early American history, it was possible for children to work under the supervision of parents and assist in the work of producing the necessities of life. On account of the gradual transition away from the earlier rural economy to machine production in rural areas and to factory production in urban communities, the family came to be less and less at the center of productive activity. This transition brought with it a condition in which it is no longer either suitable or convenient for children to assist parents in carrying on their vocations. The trend toward removing youth more and more from participation in productive activity has created an increasingly grave problem for parents with respect to caring for their children and educating them.

Because of the foregoing facts in social trends, parents turned their attention more and more to public schools in their search for a solution to their problems concerning the care of youth. In reality, public schools as we now know them came into being because families within a community entered upon a venture in coöperation to supply the educational needs of their children. Even though individual families could reduce the cost of education by means of public schools, a new tax item made its appearance in the community budget. This tax item (because of increasing demands upon and services rendered through schools) mounted constantly higher and higher. Children remain consumers, for regardless of how we view this problem the fact is that neither parents nor schools derive any monetary profits from rearing and educating children. Public schools declare no financial dividends to their patrons. The edu-

cation of youth still remains a social necessity regardless of how and where it is to be accomplished.

In a family-centered agricultural economy the major portion of skills and insights which were considered necessary for carrying on rural activities were acquired without the aid of formal schools. The work of "education" was carried on in the main through the simple expedient of having the immature members of the community participate with adults in doing the necessary work of society. It was a case of learning to carry on by carrying on.

This sort of learning is, however, seldom associated in the popular mind with the idea of "education." Even educators themselves give evidence of regarding education as being something that pertains to work accomplished by pupils in school while laboring over books in the presence of teachers. Writers on the history of education are far more eloquent in stating what was taught in schools of the past and what was said by eminent philosophers, theologians, humanists, scientists, and teachers than they are in giving pictures of the *social process* by which the masses became equipped to carry on the affairs of the community in which they lived.

Inasmuch as learnings acquired through participation in doing "practical" work were not generally regarded as having "educational" value, the deeper meaning for education in what was transpiring in the transition from an agricultural life to one of power-driven industry was slow in being realized. Schools which formerly operated mainly to supplement practical experience by giving instruction in the three "R's" were simply expanded to make room for more children for a longer period of time. Questions concerning the curriculum were not raised. Traditional school studies were accepted as being adequate for the education of the child. In this manner, a type of school program which formerly functioned as a supplement to the education which youth acquired through participation in practical affairs eventually came to hold a monopoly in the education of the child. Book learning came more and more to

supplant learning acquired through participation in carrying on the arts of the community. It was taken for granted that children could profit by getting an education and, it was assumed, they would get it if they went to school. Regardless of educational values that did or did not accompany participation in a traditional curriculum, parents could be certain of at least one thing: their children were being "kept" in school under supervision during hours when profitable employment for them could not be found otherwise.

Evidence of this latter fact is found in the constantly increasing attendance in both public and private schools. Population statistics for the United States show that the number of children in the five-to-seventeen-year age group increased from 12 millions in 1870 to 31 millions in 1936, whereas the number of youth enrolled in public schools increased from 6 millions in 1870 to 26 millions in 1936, almost twice the number that could be accounted for by population increase alone. Figures for public high schools are still more impressive. In 1870 only 0.2 per cent of the total population was enrolled in public high schools whereas by 1936 this number had increased to 17.3 per cent. The total number in high school in 1870 was 80,227, whereas in 1936 this number was increased to 5,974,537.<sup>1</sup> "Going to school" which by now has become the fashion for youth to follow does not cease with graduation from high school. From 1890 to 1936 attendance at public and private colleges increased from 150,000 to 1,200,000.<sup>2</sup>

Impressive as the foregoing statistics are with regard to what is taking place in American life, their deeper significance points to the necessity for making changes in the curriculum rather than that of merely enlarging the school plant to take care of increased numbers. Coming as students now do from an ever widening area in social life they bring with them an endless variety of vocational interests and

<sup>1</sup> United States Office of Education, Department of the Interior, *Statistics of State School Systems, 1935-1936*, Bulletin No. 2, 1937, p. 55.

<sup>2</sup> *Population Trends and Their Educational Implications*, Research Bulletin of the National Education Association, XVI: 1 (January 1938), p. 37.

abilities. Inasmuch as youth is not now and never was fashioned after a standard pattern, it is impossible to provide for the educational needs of all by having them pursue a standard curriculum. At a time when only a select few attended institutions of higher learning it was possible to adhere rather closely to a rigid school program; but with the march of time, sons and daughters of taxpayers have brought increasing pressure on colleges and universities to liberalize their offerings. Educators are forced to reckon with the demands of youth and to deviate from "orthodox" practices to supply them.

Evidence that educators still entertain the idea that some fields of knowledge have greater educational worth than others may be found in gatherings of schoolmen who are assembled for the purpose of setting up requirements which high-school students must meet in order to be admitted to institutions of higher learning. Inasmuch as school executives feel they must maintain "academic" respectability for their institutions, they may not easily stray very far from the beaten path. But what an academic study is, and what it is that makes it academic is hard to say. In the end we may discover that academic studies are in reality nothing other than those studies which we pursued when we were in school. The weight of tradition operates upon us from all sides to create pressure to maintain "respectability" as a goal for education.

In meeting the problem of educating youth the school is faced with these two counteracting influences: the changed social and economic conditions of which youth is more aware than the adult, and the restraining hand of tradition to which the adult attaches more importance than does youth. Changes in education will always be gradual and uneven, except in a period of national emergency.

It is important to remember that youth (in spite of our reluctance to change) will succeed in bringing about adjustments of one kind or another. They insist on having a place in the social order. New institutions will spring up to meet their demands. This very thing

happened among us not so very long ago when the Federal Government organized CCC camps and NYA work projects for the benefit of boys whose needs for one reason or another were not being satisfied by schools and other social agencies. When schools cease to operate for the benefit of all youth society suffers thereby.

By some strange pedagogical oversight it was not the practice of rural parents to require their children to write theme papers on any of the multitudinous activities in which they participated. Perhaps that is why activities in the practical arts of rural life came to be overlooked as having values for education. When we move away from these simple but purposeful rural activities into a formal school we observe that the matter of writing papers and placing marks upon them became a very important feature of the work. Since it is assumed that grades must be given to stimulate youth to do good work in school, teachers build exhaustive tests with which to measure the quality of work done in a given subject. Zeal for accuracy in measuring the work which children do in school stimulated interest in the use of statistical methods. Grading and bookkeeping, even, in some instances, insistence upon the normal distribution curve, have now become a matter of major concern in traditional schools. Only brave educators (and their number is increasing) undertake to run a school in which grades are subordinated to other educational values.

To close this brief discussion at this point would leave the implication that education in the earlier family economy was more to be desired than that in modern schools, and would indicate a gross ignorance on the part of the author of the changes that have taken place in schools and colleges.

That education recognizes that there were certain values in the earlier method of learning by doing practical things and is swinging back from its academic "respectability" is evidenced by the introduction of home economics, trade and vocational schools, workshops, and field work, and the extensive development of student activities. In the majority of schools nonacademic diplomas and degrees are



now given and students who receive them are considered almost as "respectable" as those who complete the academic course. It is interesting to note, however, that just as trade and vocational education was given its first impetus in the last war, so the needs of national defense are again bringing it the cloak of respectability. Within the last four months, Congress has appropriated \$75,500,000 for vocational courses for youths and adults to be given in existing educational institutions. There is, in fact, some danger that the pendulum will again swing too far and we shall lose sight of the values of a general and cultural education. Perhaps educators will find the "golden mean."

When we become ready to put into practice all that is implied in the idea that institutions are made for man, many practices that now operate under the name of education will vanish. The challenge to leaders in present-day institutions (industrial, economic, educational, and religious) calls for renewed and intelligent interest in the needs of youth. If a progressive social order is to continue, it is incumbent upon society to see to it that somewhere and somehow youth are provided with opportunities for acquiring mastery over their environment through acquiring both knowledge and skills for developing socialized dispositions, and for gaining insight into the meaning of human affairs.

## THE INTERESTS OF SCOUTS AND NON-SCOUTS

LAWRENCE E. ABT, PAUL MENDENHALL, AND E. D. PARTRIDGE

*Boy Scouts of America*

In the belief that interests represent a key concept in contemporary education, the Boy Scouts of America has recently conducted an extensive survey of the interests of Scouts and non-Scouts in New York City. Research of this kind is considered basic to the Scout program which is held to be so successful in satisfying adolescent boy interests. On the assumption that many of these findings may have considerable value to others dealing with boys of Scout age, the method used and some of the findings are being made available.

*I. Construction of the Interest Inventory.* For the purposes of this study, a special Interest Inventory was developed, based on a reasonably adequate selection of interest items for urban boys. To a large extent Scouting interests were included but written in non-Scouting terminology. In the final inventory used there are 122 items in addition to a page of personal information on the religious, educational, and socio-civic background of each boy, and the organizations to which he belonged. The directions and a sample of the inventory are given on page 566.<sup>1</sup>

*II. Sources of the Subjects.* Pupils in three Manhattan grammar schools were used for the 885 non-Scouts studied. Each school was carefully chosen so that a cross section of boys from every socio-economic level, every religious group, etc., could be included; and the schools were in widely separated geographic areas.

As far as possible, the 843 Scout subjects were drawn from troops meeting in the general neighborhood of each of the schools so that comparable populations could be obtained.

*III. Method of Administration.* Because of the large number of subjects required, special assemblies were convened and several hun-

<sup>1</sup> Copies of the complete inventory may be procured from Boy Scouts of America, 2 Park Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Below are listed things you may like or may not like to do, or, things that you do not care about one way or another, or, do not know enough about to say one way or another. Some are sports, like *playing baseball*, or *skating*. Some are hobbies. We want to know which of these you like and which you dislike (do not like).

Here is what you do: After each line of words there are three letters and a question mark like this: L I D ?

If you *like* the thing mentioned, draw a circle around the *L*.

If you *do not like* (dislike) it, circle the *D*.

If you do not know anything about it, then you will not be able to say whether you like it or not, so circle the ?.

If you know something about it but just don't care one way or another (indifferent to it) circle the *I*.

- |                           |         |  |         |
|---------------------------|---------|--|---------|
| 1. Playing football       | L I D ? | 121. Taking machinery apart              | L I D ? |
| 2. Playing baseball       | L I D ? | 122. Making Indian objects               | L I D ? |
| 3. Going fishing          | L I D ? | List here things you like, or like to do |         |
| 4. Playing tennis         | L I D ? | that were not included in this list.     |         |
| 5. Riding in an auto      | L I D ? | .....                                    |         |
| 120. Taking care of a pet | L I D ? | .....                                    |         |
|                           |         | .....                                    |         |

dred inventories were filled out at the same time. No boy put his name on his blank, and each was permitted as much time as was necessary to complete the inventory.

The inventory was administered in the same informal manner to Scouts as a part of their regular troop meeting program, and in both situations an attempt was made to develop a game out of the process.

**IV. Handling the Data.** The data from each blank were entered on a Hollerith card in such a manner that the responses to three different items could be recorded in one column by double punching.

The cards were sorted into the two groups, Scouts and non-Scouts, and then into five age groups by years from age twelve to fifteen, and one group age sixteen and over.

Of the 122 items, 49 were found to show statistically significant

differences between the results for Scouts and non-Scouts regarding the number marking the item "Like."<sup>2</sup> Twenty-four of the 49 items were those which receive varying emphasis as activities in the Scout program. Scouts exceeded non-Scouts significantly in the proportion marking these items "Like." Typical of these were items such as overnight camping, craftwork with leather, campfire stunts, cooking over a fire out-of-doors, and building a shelter in the woods.

These data seem to warrant the assumption that items describing Scout activities will discriminate Scout groups from non-Scout groups. There is more than a suggestion that the instrument may possess predictive value in this respect. In interpreting the difference in the reactions of Scouts and non-Scouts to these items, it must be borne in mind that opportunity to participate in or to become familiar with these activities as described in the inventory is weighted heavily in favor of the Scouts by virtue of their experiences as members of the movement. It is difficult, if not impossible, to know what different results would have been obtained if this factor had been controlled. Exposure of individuals to new things often creates interests that did not exist previously.

There were six items on which the proportion of non-Scouts marking the item "Like" exceeded significantly the proportion of Scouts. These items were boxing, handling horses, swapping things with other boys, talking with parents, learning about history and use of the flag, and taking machinery apart. This group of items does not seem to display any peculiar characteristic that would throw light on such a result. Only one item describes an activity involving dealing with persons (talking with parents), the remainder being activities of a manipulative or nonsocial character.

There are nineteen items which are not considered as being descriptive of Scouting activities, but on which the number of Scouts marking the items "Like" was significantly greater than that of the

<sup>2</sup> A statistically reliable difference was considered as one in which the difference divided by the standard error of the difference was 3.00 or greater.

non-Scouts. Typical of these were club meetings, singing in a group, refreshments at a club meeting, and playing games against other clubs. Twelve of the nineteen items describe activities that can be considered as being social.

These data might well lead to the conclusion that the Scout group is more preponderantly interested in social activities than the non-Scout group. To what extent this is due to the alleged "socializing value" of Scouting itself or whether a selective factor operates in that the Scout program attracts boys who have a predisposition for this type of group activity, whether it be Scouting, parties, school clubs, and so forth, cannot be concluded from this study.

With respect to items describing activities liked least by both Scouts and non-Scouts, there was agreement in order of magnitude on the first eight. The non-Scouts rated campfire stunts as being fourth in order of being disliked, while this item does not appear on a list of 26 most disliked by Scouts. The seven items showing greatest dislike by Scouts and non-Scouts were watching wild birds, mechanical puzzles, craftwork in leather, left to one's self, writing a theme, gathering rocks, and singing in a group.

Changes of interest with increase of age were also studied and carefully graphed. This led to the discovery of two interesting facts:

1. A difference between the two groups on any particular item at age twelve tends to persist at each of the other age levels. This fact points to the essential comparability of the sample populations and tends to show that components of these populations are relatively independent of one another.

2. Many of the items at age fifteen show a special and unpredictable shift, tending to indicate that at this age there is a marked decrease in the interests measured by this inventory. This would appear to have important educational implications, and therefore should be subjected to more thorough study.

The most important conclusions growing out of this study relate to the kind of instrument to be used in future interest studies among

adolescent groups. Instruments must be devised which will adequately control the factor of opportunity for participation and at the same time make provision for measuring the extent to which an interest has actually been displayed.

Because experience with our present inventory has demonstrated the weakness of the simple questionnaire approach to the measurement of adolescent interests, a new type of attack is now under consideration.

It is our plan to relate adolescent boy interests to actual life situations, which boys may reasonably encounter, by means of short, well-written paragraphs in story form describing various adolescent activities and relationships. In this way we hope to get more meaningful responses than those obtained in this study.

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#### SOCIAL SCIENCE ABSTRACTS AVAILABLE

Complete sets of *Social Science Abstracts* for the four years from 1929 to 1932, inclusive, during which it was published, may be obtained from the Social Science Research Council upon payment of express and handling charges. These charges, to be paid at the time the request is made, amount to \$1.00 anywhere in the United States except California, Oregon, and Washington, where the amount will be \$1.50. For Canada, the charge will be \$3.00, and for other foreign countries, \$4.00. Communications should be addressed to the Social Science Research Council, 230 Park Avenue, New York, N. Y. This offer is available until December 1940.



## RESEARCH PROJECTS AND METHODS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

*In order that this section of THE JOURNAL may be of the greatest possible service, its readers are urged to send at once to the editor of this department titles—and where possible descriptions—of current research projects now in process in educational sociology and also those projects in fields of interest kindred to educational sociology. Correspondence upon proposed projects and methods will be welcomed.*

### FACT FINDING OF THE AMERICAN YOUTH COMMISSION<sup>1</sup>

"Recent social and economic changes in the United States have given rise to difficulties in the care and education of young people with which existing institutions are quite unprepared to deal adequately. The changes not only have greatly intensified the problems which confront the schools, but also have created an urgent need of protection and further education for millions of youth whom the schools are not now reaching. Without some provision for basic planning to meet this situation, there is serious danger that present conditions may constitute a fundamental threat to the national welfare. It is believed that both the public and the great majority of workers interested in this field are deeply conscious of this danger, and would welcome a comprehensive and thoughtfully conceived program for meeting it."

In these terms, the American Council on Education, a nongovernmental organization composed of major national educational associations and institutions, in 1935, called attention to the need for a nationwide study of the problems of American youth. Subsequently, the Council formed the American Youth Commission, whose closely related functional steps are to:

1. Consider all the needs of youth and appraise the facilities and resources for serving those needs; that is, gather facts
2. Plan experiments and programs which seem to be most effective in solving the problems of youth; that is, experiment and prepare recommendations
3. Popularize and promote desirable plans of action through conferences, publications, and demonstrations; that is, get something done about its recommendations

<sup>1</sup> A statement prepared by the American Youth Commission, 744 Jackson Place, N. W., Washington, D. C.

The program of fact-finding has been substantially carried out through the studies and research projects which have been conducted during the last three years. Major sampling surveys have been completed in Maryland, including Baltimore, a large city; Dallas, Texas, a medium-sized city; and Muncie, Indiana, a small city. Data have been secured by trained interviewers from more than 20,000 young people on such matters as education, employment, recreation, and the attitudes of youth toward war, wages, voting, relief, religion, and the like. An inventory of 23,000 oncoming youth was made in Pennsylvania, special attention being given to their aims, personality qualifications, and preparation. Because Maryland was regarded as a nationally representative State, the findings in that study have been published in *Youth Tell Their Story*, and made available to the public.

Among the research studies of the staff are: one identifying 330 national, nongovernmental agencies attempting to work with young people, another giving detailed annotations on the literature of youth problems, and a third reviewing 186 surveys of young people conducted in all parts of the country. Results of these studies have been published under the titles of *Youth-serving Organizations*, *American Youth*, and *Surveys of Youth: Finding the Facts*, respectively. Under the title of *How Fare American Youth?* the director and staff prepared a preliminary book on the problems of youth. Three commission reports have been printed for the second time.

Specialists have prepared monographs for the commission's consideration on secondary education, occupational adjustment of youth, education for citizenship, implications of population trends for national support of education, and education for family living. The first of these has been published under the title of *Secondary Education for Youth in Modern America*, and the last two will be published soon. Representatives of the commission have made trips to England, and European countries, to study vocational and technical education, and to observe the programs in the labor service camps.

An extended inquiry into the social and educational aspects of the Civilian Conservation Corps has been completed and a report probably will be available in 1940. It will also contain health data on approximately 10,000 enrollees. A study of the effect of minority racial status upon the personality development of Negro youth was concluded in 1939. Although rural youth have been considered along with other young people, their

status is such that a special associate with assistants has been devoting full time since January 1938 to their problems. Health records of nearly 5,000 college students have been examined, and the services for meeting the needs in the colleges evaluated. Community programs for serving the needs of youth are being studied. Meantime, commission staff members have released an instructive pamphlet on *How to Make a Community Youth Survey*. Although adults are said to be responsible for the leadership of most youth organizations, many others are led by youth themselves, and the commission is now studying these in an attempt to interpret the motives and purposes of the groups, and also to inquire into their democratic functioning relative to membership, leadership, and programs.

Naturally, the commission has also been working on the other two steps in its program. Publication of fact-finding studies means that promotional activities are already started. The monthly *Bulletin* of the commission carries news of studies and other information to 4,000 libraries, schools, social agencies, and individuals. About thirty articles a year are now written by staff members for magazines and professional journals. *Life* magazine devoted one whole issue to the problems of youth, based on *Youth Tell Their Story*. In one quarter of 1938 members of the commission and the staff gave 57 talks before many types and sizes of groups, including national radio audiences. As the program evolves, the promotional activities will expand.

Experimental projects in guidance, placement, and occupational adjustment of young workers are now being conducted in coöperation with the United States Employment Service of the Department of Labor. Schools, industry, and social-welfare groups are participating in city experiments in Baltimore, St. Louis, Providence, and Dallas, and rural experiments in Frederick and Carroll counties, Maryland, and in St. Charles county, Missouri.

In addition to the interim or special staff reports already mentioned, the commission will release its own recommendations late in 1940.

#### A NEW STUDY OF THE PROBLEMS OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

Stanley P. Davies, executive director of the Community Service Society of New York, has announced the appointment of a committee on youth and justice, headed by John D. Rockefeller 3d, to study the problems of juvenile delinquency with particular reference to crime prevention and the promotion of new ideas, methods, and treatment.

The executive staff of the committee includes Leonard V. Harrison, former director of the Bureau of Social Hygiene; George M. Hallwachs, director of the society's bureau for men and boys; and Jack H. Stipe, who has been in charge of delinquency work for the Charity Organization Society. Other members include Edward L. Richards, Danforth Geer, Jr., and André Maximov.

The Community Service Society is a family-welfare agency in New York which has created the committee on youth and justice because of its belief that delinquency in its origin is essentially a family problem. Thus it seems that the committee at the start is more or less committed to a particularistic theory as to the causation of delinquency.

#### THE CRIMINOLOGICAL RESEARCH BULLETIN

The *Bulletin of Criminological Research* was originated in 1930 by Dr. Thorsten Sellin and the first five issues were published by the Bureau of Social Hygiene, Incorporated. After the discontinuance of the Bureau of Social Hygiene the 1936 and 1937 issues of the Bulletin appeared in the *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*. The Bulletin covering material for 1938, which was edited by J. P. Shalloo of the Wharton School of Finance and Commerce of the University of Pennsylvania, was published in 1939 for the Committee on Criminal Statistics of the American Prison Association under the presidency of Austin H. McCormick, formerly commissioner of the Department of Correction of New York City.

The most recent Bulletin (VIII) eliminates all new projects reported which are not strictly criminological in character, such as research with backward children, or noncriminological researches being carried on in hospitals for the mentally ill. Many projects carried on in prisons were likewise rejected because the nature of the research was such that any other group than prisoners might have served as subjects of the investigation. Projects have been grouped into eight sections or subsections in order to facilitate the use of the list as follows: general, criminal statistics, causation, police organization and administration, the law, procedure, the administration of justice, and penal treatment in institutions on probation and parole and the effectiveness of such treatment. Under each of these general headings the projects are classified as to whether they are new projects or follow-up projects already mentioned in Criminological Research Bulletins I to VII.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*The Path I Trod*, The Autobiography of Terence V. Powderly, edited by HARRY J. CARMAN, HENRY DAVID, and PAUL N. GUTHRIE. New York: Columbia University Press, 1940, xiv + 460 pages.

Terence V. Powderly was Grand Master Workman of the Knights of Labor during a good portion of the life span of that now defunct labor union. *The Path I Trod* is more than Powderly's justification of his life and work. As a self-revealing portrait of a man and his times the volume is an important addition to the source literature of American labor history. *The Path I Trod* may rightly claim space next to Samuel Gompers's *Seventy Years of Life and Labor* in the library of every student of labor problems in America.

*Education on the Air*, Tenth Yearbook of the Institute for Education by Radio, edited by JOSEPHINE H. MACLATCHY. Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 1939.

This *Yearbook* is the tenth one read by this reviewer. He has also attended some of the Institutes. The volume, therefore, may appear to him in a different light from that in which a reviewer might see it as an isolated volume.

At the first Institute I attended the representatives of broadcasting companies and the school people were falling just short of hurling rocks at each other in what had become a traditional civil war. According to this volume the war is over. That is good because each side was both right and wrong.

The papers and discussions in the Tenth Yearbook show the results of a maturing social agency. Broadcasting is growing up. Educators are beginning to learn that not all education is adapted to radio and that valid radio techniques are essential to successful education by radio. The futile crying of helpless infants is no longer heard. The exasperating irritations of adolescent childhood are seldom in view. The subject matter proves these things. Educational radio is developing a pattern. Public opinion, adult education, general education, agricultural broadcasts, research, school and educational broadcasts, and recordings cover nearly all of the report. Within this developing pattern there is, and should continue to be, a variety of progress. Diversity within the limits of valid patterns is a virtue. It fits America. It fits a dynamic society.

Every one interested in radio as a great social agency, and educators zealous of their comprehensive social usefulness, should possess and study all ten volumes of *Education on the Air*. It would mightily help us all if some competent analyst and interpreter would write one short volume to tell us the important story to be found in the series. It would be a story of natural growth and progress.

*Man Against Madness*, by LOWELL S. SELLING. New York: Greenberg, Publisher, Inc., 1940, 342 pages.

Here is a splendid book in which the story of man's battle against insanity is told in a dramatic way. The story develops out of the life and work of the men and women who were largely responsible for the progress that has been made in the care of the mentally ill.

While the early Greek physicians had developed a cure for certain forms of madness, this knowledge seems to have been lost to society for more than a thousand years. The work of Galen, the Greek physician who labored in Rome, will seem quite modern to many. Da Vinci and others of the Renaissance Period tried to probe the secrets of madness. The modern human attitude toward the mentally afflicted was born in the midst of the French Revolution. The name of Pinel looms large in the early development of a humane attitude. Dorothea Dix played an important role in the development of public opinion and state support for the insane in our own country. Other names that loom large in the promotion of the modern science of psychiatry are Broca, Claude Bernard, Hughlings Jackson, Brown-Séquard, Charcot, Griesinger, Kraepelin, and Freud.

This book should be read by every student of sociology, as there is no better statement of the attitude of social responsibility in the care of the insane. The contrast between the newer point of view and the older, which unfortunately still exists in many quarters, is both instructive and informative.

*Training for the Job*, by FRANK ERNEST HILL. New York: American Association for Adult Education, 1940, 160 pages.

Current activities in adult vocational education and guidance are described here in nontechnical language and in readable style. Out-of-school youth are included in the definition of "adult."

One of the series of studies on the social significance of adult education,



the book includes a generous measure of common-sense appraisal and suggestion. After noting the activities of the CCC and NYA, the author concludes that "it is from our school systems that we should and can expect most; in proportion to their possibilities, they have the greatest opportunity for accomplishment and they have done least. With a great need before them demanding a new spirit and new methods, they have clung in the main to their traditional ways."

He suggests that our present program neglects the unemployed and untrained while favoring those who have jobs. He notes but does not emphasize that this is partly because of Federal taxation and subsidy with its inevitable restrictions upon local adaptation and initiative. He recommends more Federal taxation and distribution of public money to induce States and municipalities to do what some of them could not, and others would not, do alone; viz., provide more vocational training of adults at the expense of the public.

The author has traveled extensively and recently to collect his material. The result is a concise and interesting story which can be highly recommended to all who are interested in the subject.

*A Girl Grows Up*, by RUTH FEDDER. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1939, 235 pages.

This book is written for the teen-age girl. It answers many questions about growing up that the adolescent girl finds puzzling. These same problems have been confronting adults who work, play, or live with adolescents. Here is material that should interest both groups for it answers the thousands of questions about behavior that puzzle us all. The "teen" girl wants an answer, while parents, teachers, and group leaders would like to answer those questions. Miss Fedder does answer them out of her wide experience. "What does it mean to grow up?" "What is life all about anyway?" These problems and many more are handled with an intelligent understanding of the growing girl.

The problems of emotional maturity and personality development are dealt with, while family relationship, boy and girl relationships are discussed. The treatment of the material is handled in such a way as to give information about fundamentals of behavior so that the individual may grow in her ability to judge behavior. The author uses no technical psychological terminology. However, the book is based upon sound knowledge of the psychology of behavior.

*Black Folk Then and Now*, by W. E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1939, 401 pages.

This book is a treatment of the history and sociology of the Negro race in Africa. It is designed to assist in bringing about an understanding of the background and culture of one of our important minority groups.

If an eminent Negro leader's statement, "The greatest need of Negroes is a good dose of ancestry," is true, this book should go a long way to developing in the Negro a clear-cut understanding of his own importance among the races of the world. It should also help to explode the myth of racial superiority so dominant in some of the groups. It is a book worth careful reading and much thought.

The concluding chapter, *Future of World Democracy*, is a helpful contribution by this great Negro leader in stressing the necessity of racial understanding and good will as a foundation for democracy.

*The American Educational System* by JOHN DALE RUSSELL and CHARLES H. JUDD. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1940, xvi + 554 pages.

This volume is designed for and will serve most effectively as a text in an introduction or orientation course in education. The authors have clearly and concisely described and briefly analyzed the American educational system as it is today. They likewise review the factors which have in varying degree been influential in determining present forms of organization, content and methods of instruction, and control of education.

The volume serves well in providing the student with a rapid overview of the major characteristics of the current educational system in the United States and intimates the probable trends of change in the near future.

*Psychology in Education*, by HERBERT SORENSON. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1940, 489 pages.

This elementary text for a first course in educational psychology compares more than favorably with the numerous similar books in the field. Because of its comprehensiveness it suffers from the attenuation which now seems in vogue. However, the topical exposition is effective and there are commendable economy and concreteness in language.

This text reflects well the trend which emphasizes the inclusive personality in its total educational setting, and which stresses the concepts of growth, development, and adjustment in a dynamic and functional way. The book proceeds through chapters on physical, social, and emotional growth to a consideration of adjustment and mental health applications. The inevitable units on intelligence, learning, heredity and environment, mental growth, efficiency, motivation, transfer, measuring achievement, and the like, are worked into the structure of the volume. The distinction lies in the discriminating handling of the content. There are directions for study beginning each chapter, a useful glossary is given, and exercises and references are provided.

*Race: Science and Politics*, by RUTH BENEDICT. New York: Modern Age Books, 1940, 274 pages.

Miss Benedict has done an excellent job of presenting in a readable, nontechnical style the present status of the concept of race. The anthropological data relating to the problem of race is thorough enough to give a good orientation to even a layman. Her position is that race is a valid concept, but that racism is a menace to society. Her distinction is well taken and makes a valuable frame of reference from which to view the whole problem of race relationships. Her concept is that racism is an outgrowth of the old formula: "I belong to the elect."

While Miss Benedict presents in a noncontroversial manner the anthropological data relating to race, one cannot be so sure that she approaches the problem of racism with a similar unbiased attitude. Her notion that racism grows out of the despair of hard living conditions does not seem to tell the whole story; too many groups have lived under difficult conditions without being chauvinistic. The element of ethnocentrism does not enter race relations until such time as racial contacts make groups conscious of themselves as contrasted to other selves (out groups).

One must agree with Miss Benedict that racism has replaced the old religious basis of persecution and is all the more iniquitous because it has evoked as its aid "a bastard version of contemporary science." One must also agree that to understand racial conflict we need to understand conflict and not race. Her challenge to education and democracy should be sufficient to make the most complacent educator squirm in his seat. The book is highly worth while and should be on every educator's bookshelf.

*Love at the Threshold*, by FRANCES BRUCE STRAIN. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1939, 336 pages.

This is the third book Mrs. Strain has contributed to the pertinent problems of young men and women. In this volume she has pulled together the most complete, all inclusive lot of "concerns" yet organized. The unity and relation of the facts are woven in an effective, practical design for general use. All of the ideas and panaceas heretofore offered to young people are soundly oriented in working relationships. This is done in a sincere, frank, scientific manner.

While the fundamental values of life are consistently maintained the tone of the book constantly reflects adventure, beauty, and the joy of natural human drives. The association of boys and girls is developed simply yet dramatically from the early natural relationships to the richer, fuller meanings of happiness and love. The "dating" years are discussed from the points of view of both boys and girls. Romance is developed from the first conceptions of love through the mature stages of deep relationships. The love life is treated with genuine feeling and keen understanding of its fragile yet basic qualities. The latter part of the book is given over to marriage, body mechanisms, biological fulfillment, the birth of a baby, and some sex education for children.

Boys and girls, parents and teachers welcome this fresh reassurance that beauty, purpose, and satisfaction are found in wholesome human relationships.